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E ANTICHITÀ EGEE

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THE EARLIEST ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR A MYCENAEAN GREEK RITUAL FORM OF HUMAN SACRIFICE*

PHOTINI J. P. McGEORGE**

HUMAN sacrifice is a provocative interpretation of the remains discovered in the courtyard at Odos Katre, Khania. Since the find was not in a funerary context, its presence in the courtyard needs explanation.

As with the fauna, we have only a partial, not a complete, human skeleton. None of the skeletal parts is duplicated and so it appears that only one individual was involved. The consistent age, appearance and small proportions of the human bones confirm that they belonged to the same person.

THE SEX AND AGE OF THE SKELETON

The cranium's smooth contours and small mastoid process, the absence of supra-orbital brow ridges (FIG. 1), and the slender proportions of the long bones determine that the sex of the person is female.

The cranial sutures are unfused (FIG. 2), indicating she would have been younger than twenty years old. The only long bone with an articulation is the femur. It is poorly preserved, but seems to be missing the epiphysis (FIG. 3), which usually fuses between 15 and 19 years of age.

The wear on the 4 teeth is relatively mild (FIG. 4). However, there are cavities on the occlusal and buccal surfaces of the lower molar and the healed alveoli show that neighbouring teeth had been lost at least three months ante-mortem.

* This is the text of the paper as delivered on 27th October 2014, with the addition of footnotes. The paper was limited to ten minutes and deals primarily with the material evidence. Thanks to the Colloquium's organizers, this is an opportunity to publish a preliminary report and share "fresh", empirical data for human sacrifice with other scholars. The excavation, however, is ongoing and may produce further material, requiring revision of the present evidence, which merits discussion at greater length in a future publication. *Acknowledgements:* It is with great pleasure that I record my warmest thanks to Maria Vlazaki for the opportunity to study this amazing find, to Efi Protopapadaki for our discussions throughout the course of the excavation, to Dimitra Mylona for our collaboration, to a diligent team who spent so much time excavating on their knees, to Anna Mylona and Despina Lantzaki for assistance with the cleaning and restoration of the human bones, to the museum guards especially Kostas Digalakis and Athina and, finally, to Aspasia Vasilikaki for the warmth of her friendship and hospitality during my many visits to Chania.

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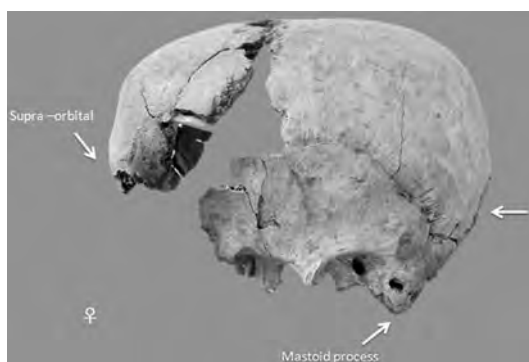


FIG. 1. The cranium from the Katre Street excavation. Arrows show dimorphic characteristics indicative of female sex.



FIG. 2. Unfused cranial sutures indicate an age younger than twenty years.

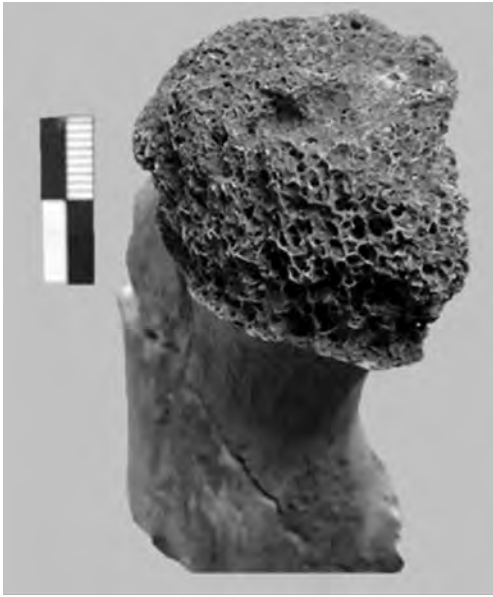


FIG. 3. Proximal right femur missing the epiphysis suggests adolescence.

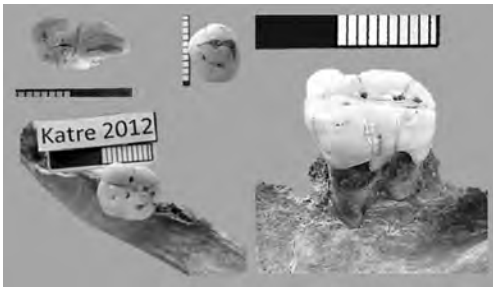


FIG. 4. Dentition with mild wear, caries and ante-mortem tooth loss.



FIG. 5. Long bones. Apart from the femur, all are missing their articular ends.

BREAKAGES

With the exception of the femur, all the long bones (humerus, radius, ulna, tibia, and fibula) lack articular ends (FIG. 5). The ends of the bones are 'ragged', with sharp edges and fractures that suggest that the damage was sustained, when the bones were 'green' or fresh.

The w-shaped fractures of the left distal ulna and right proximal tibia, and fracturing of the lower shaft of the left fibula, represent breaks of fresh bone (FIG. 6).

The fragmentation of the right shoulder bones: the clavicle, acromion and this 'break' through the axial border of the scapula could have been caused by one or two blows that shattered all three (FIG. 7).

CUT MARKS

The only verifiable cut marks on the long bones are under the head of the humerus (FIG. 8). There seem to be three fine, faintly visible incisions and three crude notches reflecting difficulty cutting the tough tendons, muscles and ligaments attached to the head of the humerus (FIG. 9).

The fragments that make up the cranium were scattered (FIG. 10). Their positions are marked on the plan (FIG. 11).

The straight edge of the right parietal bone (FIG. 12) – the rest of it has not been found – is possible evidence of cutting. For comparison, at the right, there is a skull sliced by several sword wounds.¹

DISPERSAL OF BONES

The base of the skull has not been found (as can be seen in FIG. 13, left), but there is a percussion mark at the top of the skull (FIG. 13, circled at right). This could have been caused by a blow delivered to stun the victim, or possibly after the head had been severed from the trunk and smashed into several pieces that were then dispersed (see plan).

The feasibility of this reconstruction is corroborated by a perimortem injury to the right parietal (FIG. 14, fragment on the right, before restoration of the skull). The trajectory of a fracture line on the parietal (FIG. 14 on the left, arrow at the top indicates a red line with an oblique downward path) that can be seen to continue on the occipital

¹ A skull found at Lewes in Sussex, twenty miles west of Hastings, dates to 1063 ± 28 years.

is verification of damage that occurred before the separation of the two bones.

The occipital was found separately and at a short distance from the right parietal fragment (FIG. 15). Therefore this must be a perimortem injury.

The atlas and axis, neck vertebrae, are both incomplete. The odontoid process and right half of second cervical vertebra is missing; the first cervical vertebra has perimortem damage to the superior right condyle (see damage indicated by an arrow, FIGG. 16-17). This damage could have occurred, when a knife was plunged into the victim's neck, in the manner illustrated by the scene on a sarcophagus in Çanakkale Museum (FIG. 16, right), or possibly when the head was severed from the trunk.

Parts of several more vertebrae, two thoracic and a third lumbar and ribs have been recovered (FIG. 18), while the sacrum and a section of the right ilium that normally articulate were found separated by a great distance (FIG. 19).

The scattering of the dismembered human and the mingling with the animal remains has been emphasised because these are features of sacrifice. The human was processed in the same way as the animals: the bones have very similar breakages (FIG. 20) and cut marks (FIG. 21). The pieces of the young woman were scattered widely throughout the courtyard. The plan shows the spatial relationship between the human skeletal remains (see three dotted lines connecting bones that are normally articulated, FIG. 22), leading one to the inescapable conclusion that the human was part of the sacrifice.

THE HYPOTHESIS

There are compelling reasons to believe that this is an early example of a Mycenaean Greek ritual form of *θυσία*, the central ritual of ancient Greek religion.

My colleagues' presentations have shown that the find is in the palatial centre of Kydonia, dates to LM IIIB and therefore belongs in the Mycenaean Greek period of domination in Crete. The faunal analysis showed that about 49 creatures had been slaughtered and that their condition contrasted with ordinary domestic discard. By any stretch of the imagination, so large a number and variety of animals would not have been slaughtered for an ordinary occasion. They represent at least one thousand kilos of meat.² Thus, to my mind, the deposit has the hallmark of a ritual sacrifice.

² This is a conservative estimate. Consultation of various specialist sources for carcass weights, (e.g.: ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics...php/Agricultural_production_-_animals), produced an estimate for the meat from the sacrifice which

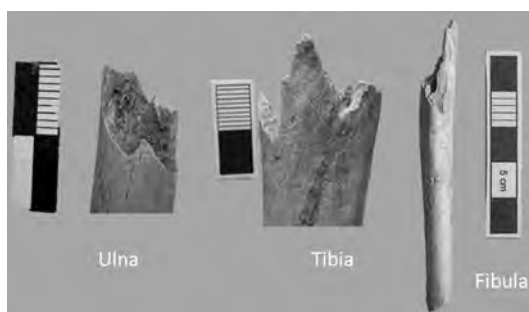


FIG. 6. Ulna, tibia and fibula: the morphology of the fractured ends is characteristic of breakages of fresh bone.

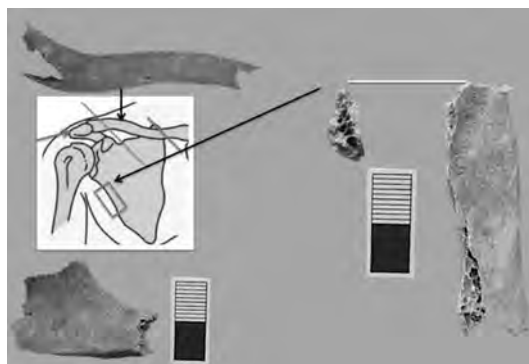


FIG. 7. Breakages of the right shoulder bones.

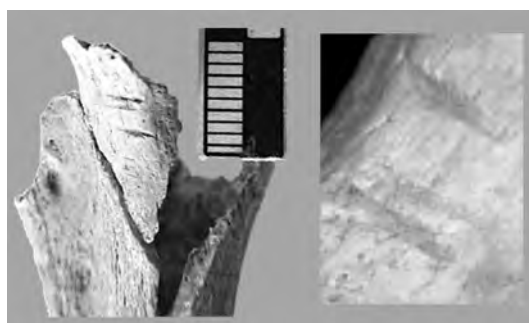


FIG. 8. Cut marks below the head of the left humerus.

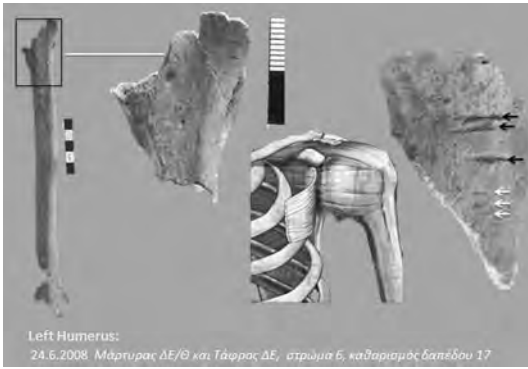


FIG. 9. The cut marks below the head of the humerus, juxtaposed with an anatomical diagram of the ligaments attached to the head of the humerus, and greater magnification of the same cut marks.

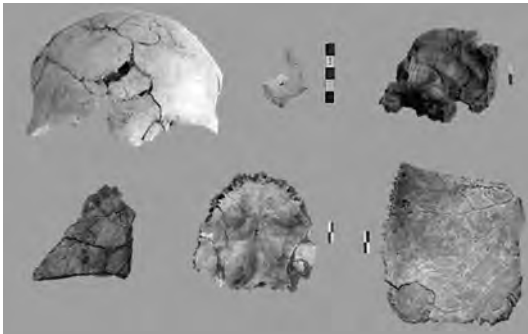


FIG. 10. The fragments of the cranium recovered separately in the excavation.

ting, violence toward the victim, scattering of different parts of the victim, the sacrifice of pregnant animals (in this case possibly represented by the pig and piglets).⁵ There were sacrifices that were entirely burnt and not eaten (holocausts), or eaten publicly, or only by select recipients. In sacrifices for the dead and chthonic gods the victims may have been beheaded.⁶

In ancient Greece, human sacrifice was embedded in the stories of sacrificial victims of status, the princesses Iphigenia and Polyxena, Hesione and Andromeda, though both the latter were saved from this fate, as was Iphigenia according to one version of the story. In Euripides's *Iphigenia in Tauris*, Iphigenia is saved by divine intervention through the substitution of a deer. The myth is aptly illustrated on a 4th century Tarrentine red-figure krater in the British Museum (FIG. 23). –This must have been a model for the Greek custom of maiden sacrifice in a form that

The mass slaughter of animals and a human being seems to have been dictated by an extraordinary event. The plaster floor rent asunder by an earthquake is evidence of a very violent seismic event. Its strength, estimated by experts to have been approximately 7 on the Richter scale, must have caused horrific damage and widespread terror. The dismembered animals and the human were strewn over the breach in the courtyard to feed the hungry chthonic deities. The deposit was immediately sealed by stones and soil and remained thus for millennia. The purpose of the sacrifice must have been to restore the balance of nature and no doubt had a religious, social and political purpose.

GREEK RITUAL SACRIFICE

The study of ancient Greek sources reveals distinctions between many different types of sacrifice depending on the occasion of killing and what was done with the animals after they were slaughtered. Animal sacrifices were customary in specific circumstances: for particular gods or goddesses, before battles, crossing rivers, taking oaths, before funerals, for the dead, for heroes, for purification rites, and so forth.³

There is evidence of a great variety of ritual uses of different animals (such as pigs and dogs for purification rites)⁴ and varied emphasis on ritual details that included libation, blood-let-

could have exceeded 1200-1300 kg, based on an estimated 860 kilos of meat from 43 Cretan sheep/goat carcasses, at an average 20-25 kilos each; 400 kilos of meat from two adult-sized cattle; plus 90 kilos of pork meat from a pig (70 kg) and three piglets (5-6 kg each).

³ D. D. Hughes, *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece*, London-New York 1991, pp. 3-4 n. 10, for references to Stengel (1910), Rudhardt (1958), Casabona (1966) and Meuli (1975).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5 n. 16. Pigs were slain for purification ceremonies at Athens; in Boeotia people were purified by passing through the two halves of a dog.

⁵ According to some scholars the material evidence validates the association of chthonian sacrifices with pigs and piglets; see K. Clinton in R. Hägg, B. Alroth, *Greek Sacrificial Ritual, Olympian and Chthonian*, Proceedings of the 6th International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, organized by the Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, Göteborg University, 25-27 April 1997, Stockholm 2005.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5 n. 18.

made it a social paradigm, similar to the biblical story of Abraham and Isaac.

In Aeschylus's *Agamemnon* (II.199 -257),⁷ Iphigenia is sacrificed to propitiate the gods so the Greek fleet can sail for Troy. In Euripides's play, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, submission goes against her natural human instincts. Iphigenia to Agamemnon:

... to gaze upon the light is man's most cherished gift; that life below is nothingness, and whoever longs for death is mad. Better live a life of woe than die a death of glory!⁸

But she acquiesces to her sacrifice for the common good and rather than violate the principle of filial loyalty. In a 7th century Etruscan portrayal on a painted terracotta slab (FIG. 24), she is not putting up any resistance unless, of course, she was drugged.

In the story of the Trojan princess Polyxena, Achilles's ghost comes to the Greeks, demanding that the wind needed to set sail for Hellas was to be appeased by the sacrifice of the princess, the deed to be performed by Neoptolemus seen in this illustration on a 6th century Athenian black figure vase⁹ (FIG. 25) slitting her throat, with her blood gushing onto the altar.

Richard Neer argues that, where the modern eye sees tragedy and brutality, the Greeks would have perceived an act of great piety. The renunciation of something valued, a human life, for the sake of achieving a higher, more important goal.¹⁰

Polyxena was described as dying bravely and demurely, yet on the Gümüşçay sarcophagus¹¹ (FIG. 26) she seems to be struggling, betraying very human instincts, while the warriors holding her look away. On the other side of the sarcophagus (FIG. 27) the Trojan women realistically tear their hair and rend their garments in utter despair.

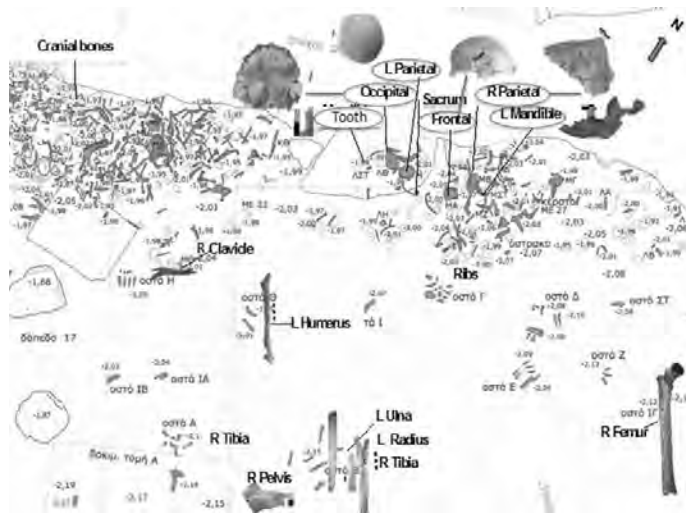


FIG. 11. Spatial distribution of the cranial fragments.



FIG. 12. Occipital view of the restored cranium: right parietal trauma, caused by a sword or similar weapon, compared to a medieval British battle victim with sword wounds.

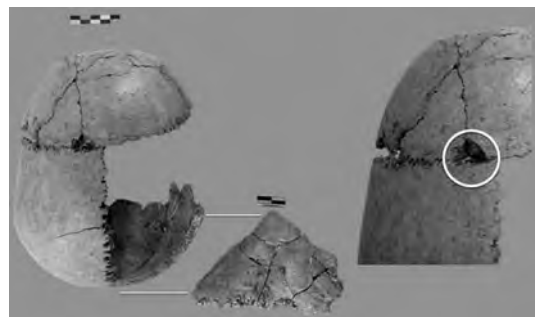


FIG. 13. Vertical view of the restored cranium: right parietal trauma with straight edge and a percussion trauma at the top of the cranium to the left of bregma that must have caused the separation of the frontal and parietal bones.

⁷ Aesch. *Agamemnon*, 199-257.

⁸ Eur., *Iphigenia in Aulis* 1250, Gilbert Murray 1913 English translation sourced from: <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0006.tlg018.perseus-eng1:1211-1254>.

⁹ Richard Neer, *Greek and Roman Animal Sacrifice: Ancient Victims, Modern Observers*, Cambridge 2012.

¹¹ Sixth century stone sarcophagus, see: Nurten Sevinç, "A new sarcophagus from the salvage excavations at Gümüşçay", *Studia Troica* 1996, p. 251.



FIG. 14. Trajectory of a perimortem fracture across the right parietal and occipital.

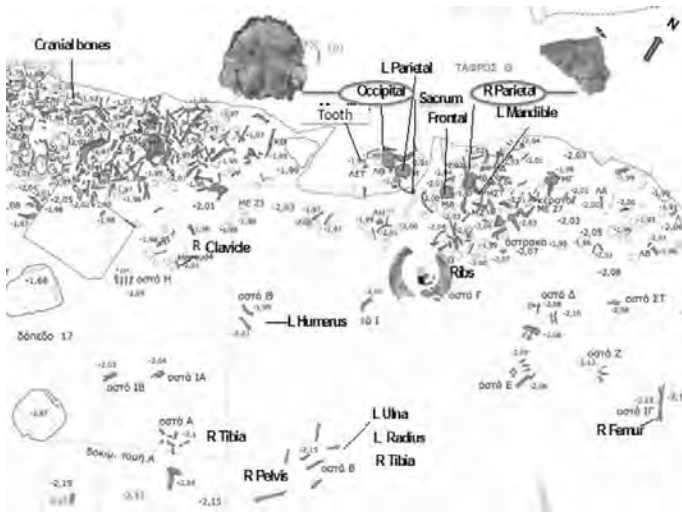


FIG. 15. The spatial relation in the excavation between these two bone fragments.

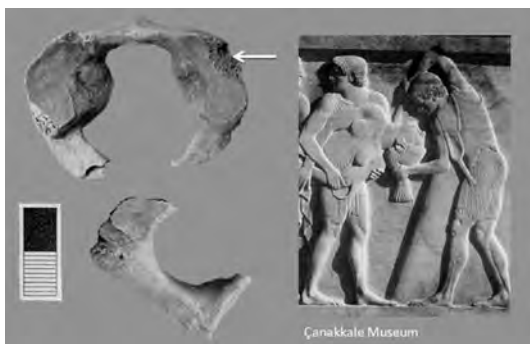


FIG. 16. Damage to the first and second cervical vertebra could have been caused in the manner illustrated on the 6th century sarcophagus in Çanakkale Museum.

CONCLUSION

Human sacrifice has been defined as: «The slaying of human beings in the same manner, with the same ritual purpose as the customary slaying of animals».¹² I am confident that the present case fits that description.

In this instance the interpretation of human sacrifice rests on the identification of the cut marks, the breakages of fresh bone, the association of the human with the faunal remains, their parallel aggressive treatment and the scattering of the dismembered body parts over the breach in the courtyard floor caused by an earthquake.

The historicity of a ‘mythological’ phenomenon appears to be proven by this discovery. Accounts of maiden sacrifice indicate that it was required in exceptional circumstances. The destructive earthquake that befell the Kydonians must have been an event of such catastrophic proportions that it required the sacrifice of a human being to appease chthonic deities and avert further evil.

The LM IIIB sacrifice at Khania may be the earliest archaeologically visible evidence for a Mycenaean Greek ritual form of human sacrifice.

ABSTRACT

Human sacrifice is a very provocative interpretation of the human remains discovered in a courtyard of the LMIIIB Mycenaean palace of Kydonia. Prerequisites for an objective evaluation of this hypothesis are precise contextual information for the find, detailed analysis of the animal remains and a detailed analysis of the human remains found.

The human remains are not from a funerary context, but were mingled with a mass of dismembered animal remains, placed over an intentionally removed section of the courtyard’s fine plaster floor. The surface of the floor, rippled by multiple cracks, is evidence of a very strong earthquake prior to the sacrifice. The boundaries of the bone deposit demarcated and sealed by a deposition of

¹² D. D. Hughes, *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece*, London-New York 1991, p. 4.

stones and soil, lay undisturbed by rodents or carnivores, and can only be attributed to a single episode of purposeful human design that occurred in the early 13th century BC.

The young female was dismembered and scattered in a way that precisely parallels the treatment of the animal species with which it was associated. The equivalent treatment of the human and animal remains leads to the conclusion that the young woman was part of the sacrifice. Maiden sacrifices elicited for different purposes abound in ancient Greek myths and literature: in Homer, Herodotus, Euripides, Aeschylus, Pausanias and other sources. The historicity of a mythological phenomenon appears to be proven by this find, which is possibly the earliest archaeologically visible instance of a Mycenaean Greek ritual form of propitiatory sacrifice to chthonic forces.

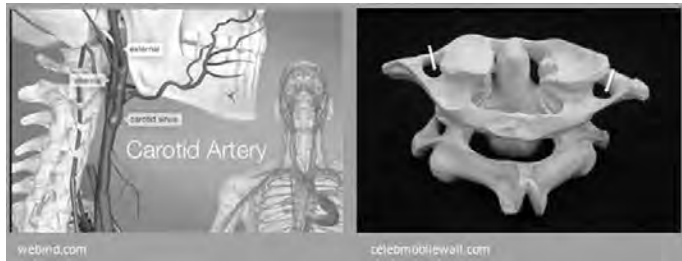


FIG. 17. Anatomical diagrams show the path of the carotid through the transverse foramina of the 1st and 2nd vertebrae.

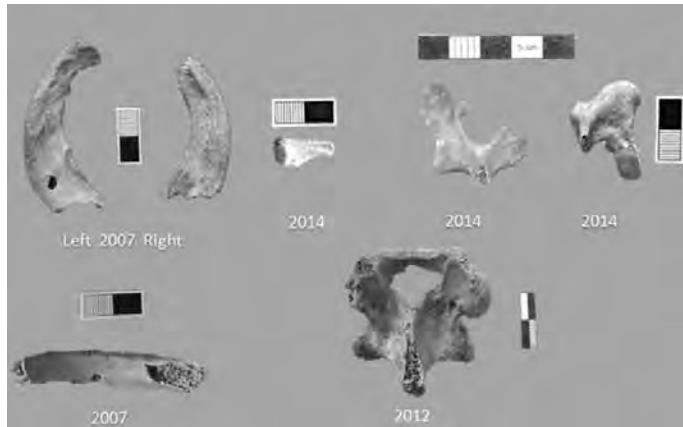


FIG. 18. Remnants of ribs and vertebrae recovered in the excavation.



FIG. 19. The sacrum and right pelvis discovered at a great distance from each other discovered in 2012 and 2007 respectively.

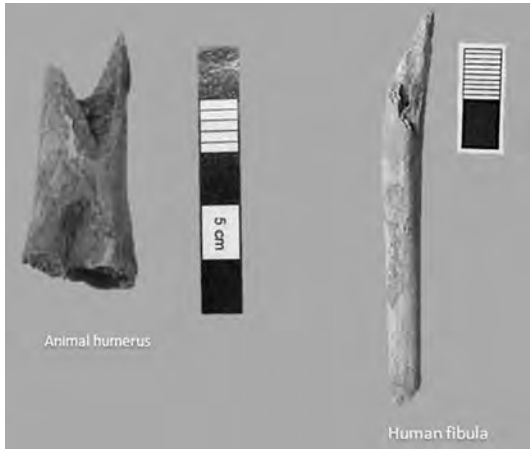


FIG. 20. The similarity of the breakages to animal and human bones, here illustrated by an animal humerus and the human fibula.

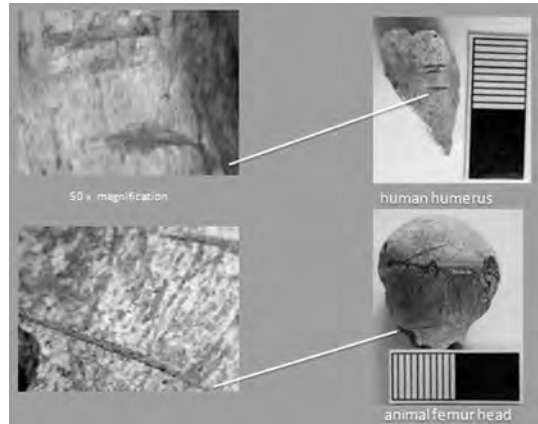


FIG. 21. The similarity of cut marks: human humerus at top, animal femur at bottom.

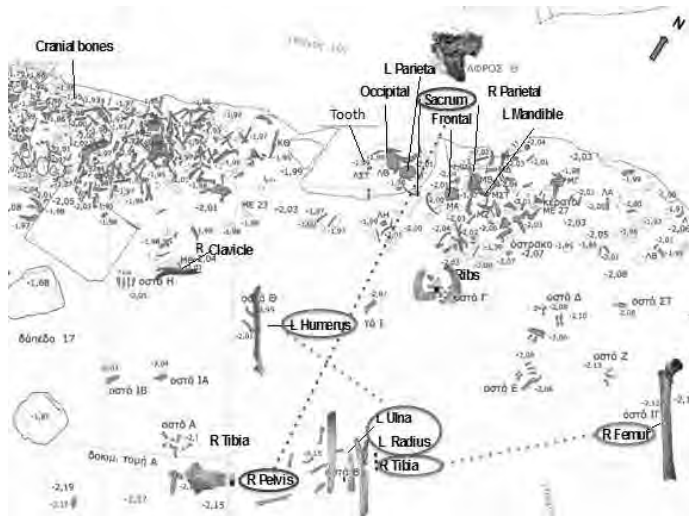


FIG. 22. The dotted lines on the plan show distances between bones that articulate to emphasize dismemberment and scattering of the body parts.



FIG. 23. The 4th century Tarrentine krater from the British Museum portraying the version of the Iphigenia myth told by Euripides in *Iphigenia in Tauris*.



FIG. 24. A 7th/6th century Etruscan painted terra-cotta slab portraying Iphigenia, looking inert, as if drugged, being carried to the altar.



FIG. 25. An Athenian black figure vase, circa 575-525 BC, in British Museum, shows Neoptolemus holding Polyxena by the hair, cutting her throat and splashing the altar below with blood.



FIG. 26. A 6th century marble sarcophagus, in Çanakkale Museum, portrays Polyxena kicking and struggling, while the soldiers holding her avert their gaze as Neoptolemus plunges his weapon into her carotid artery.



FIG. 28. The reliefs on the other side of the same sarcophagus, in Çanakkale Museum, show Trojan women tearing their hair and rending their garments.

COMPOSTO IN CARATTERE DANTE MONOTYPE DALLA
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